

Message Text

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FM AMCONSUL LOURENCO MARQUES

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UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 2 LOURENCO MARQUES 1044

FOR MULCAHY FROM EASUM

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: SOPN

SUBJECT: KENTUCKY SPEECH

REF: LOURENCO MARQUES 1043

FOLLOWING IS MY ROUGH RE-DRAFT OF FIRST PORTION OF KENTUCKY SPEECH. THIS REPLACES THE FIRST FIVE PAGES OF DRAFT THAT I BROUGHT WITH ME. SEE REFTEL FOR FURTHER IDEAS ON REMAINDER OF SPEECH AND PROPOSED PRESS HANDLING.

QUOTE: I WANT TO COMMEND MY GOOD FRIEND, VINCE DAVIS, FOR ORGANIZING THIS SYMPOSIUM DEVOTED TO BLACK AMERICA AND AFRICA. AND I WANT TO THANK HIM FOR GIVING ME AN OPPORTUNITY TO TAKE PART.

AS YOU WELL KNOW, BLACK AMERICAN INTEREST IN AND CONCERN FOR AFRICA ARE NOT OF RECENT VINTAGE. THIS INTEREST AND CONCERN SPAN MANY YEARS. THEY CAN BE FOUND IN THE VARIOUS, OFTEN PHILOSOPHICAL, "BACK TO AFRICA" THEMES THAT DATE TO THE 18TH CENTURY.

THE LATE DR. W.E.B. DUBOIS WAS ONE OF THE FIRST BLACK SCHOLARS TO FOCUS ON AFRICA. HE GAVE EXPRESSION TO MANY OF HIS VIEWS WHILE SERVING AS EDITOR OF THE CRISIS, THE ORGAN OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE, POPULARLY CALLED THE NAACP. IN 1916, FOR EXAMPLE, DR. DUBOIS PROPOSED TO THE NAACP BOARD AN ENCY-

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CLOPEDIA AFRICANA TO BE PUBLISHED IN 1919 TO MARK THE 299TH

ANNIVERSARY OF THE PERMANENT LANDING OF BLACK SLAVES AT JAMESTOWN, VIRGINIA. DR. DUBOIS SUGGESTED IN 1918 THAT THE ASSOCIATION TAKE STEPS AT THE VERSAILLES PEACE CONFERENCE TO SECURE RECOGNITION OF THE RIGHTS OF AFRICANS.

THE NAACP WAS IN THE VANGUARD OF ORGANIZED EFFORTS TO HELP THE AFRICAN PEOPLES. THE ORGANIZATION SUPPORTED THE VARIOUS PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESSES ORGANIZED BY DR. DUBOIS, BEGINNING IN PARIS IN 1919. A MANIFESTO ISSUED AT THE SECOND CONGRESS IN LONDON TWO YEARS LATER CONTAINED THESE WORDS:

"THIS IS A WORLD OF MEN, OF MEN WHOSE LIKENESSES FAR OUTWEIGHT THEIR DIFFERENCES; WHO MUTUALLY NEED EACH OTHER IN LABOR AND THOUGHT AND DREAM, BUT WHO CAN SUCCESSFULLY HAVE EACH OTHER ONLY ON TERMS OF EQUALITY, JUSTICE AND MUTUAL RESPECT."

THE DECADES SINCE WORLD WAR TWO HAVE BEEN IMPORTANT YEARS FOR BOTH BLACK AMERICANS AND AFRICANS. FOR BLACK AMERICANS, THIS PERIOD SAW ADVANCES IN MAKING A REALITY FOR ALL AMERICANS THE NOBLE STATEMENTS AND GOALS OF OUR DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE AND OUR CONSTITUTION. FOR AFRICANS, THIS WAS A PERIOD OF GREAT TRANSITION AS COLONIALISM GAVE WAY TO INDEPENDENT NATIONHOOD IN MOST OF THE VAST AFRICAN CONTINENT.

IN THE PERIOD OF THE SIXTIES WE WITNESSED A REMARKABLE GROWTH AND STRENGTHENING OF PROGRAMS OF BLACK STUDIES AND AFRICAN STUDIES ON AMERICAN CAMPUSES. THESE PROGRAMS HAVE SERVED TO BROADEN BOTH THE BASE AND THE SCOPE OF BLACK AMERICAN INTEREST IN AFRICA, AS WELL AS SUBSTANTIALLY INFORM THE AMERICAN WHITE COMMUNITY REGARDING THE BLACK EXPERIENCE IN BOTH THE OLD AND THE NEW WORLDS.

THIS RISING AWARENESS ON THE PART OF BLACKS AND WHITES IN THIS COUNTRY IS TODAY MOST OFTEN DIRECTED TO, AND ARTICULATED IN TERMS OF, COLONIALISM AND RACISM IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. IT IS PRECISELY IN THIS PART OF AFRICA THAT DUBOIS' PRESCRIPTION OF "EQUALITY, JUSTICE AND MUTUAL RESPECT" HAS BEEN LEAST OBSERVED. THESE SOUTHERN AFRICAN ISSUES HAVE TENDED TO POLARIZE ATTITUDES IN THIS COUNTRY, AND TO CREATE

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SUSPICION IN THE MINDS OF BLACKS AND WHITES ABOUT THE REAL NATURE AND PURPOSE OF THE FOREIGN POLICIES OF THE U.S. GOVERNMENT IN THIS REGION.

LET ME ATTEMPT TO SET THE RECORD STRAIGHT ON SOME OF THESE QUESTIONS--QUESTIONS THAT MAY APPEAR COMPLEX BUT THAT, AT THEIR CORE, HAVE TO DO WITH NOTHING MORE COMPLICATED THAN FUNDAMENTAL HUMAN RIGHTS.

I HAVE JUST RETURNED FROM A FIVE-WEEK TOUR IN AFRICA. THIS TOUR INCLUDED MY FIRST VISIT TO SOUTH AFRICA. I TALKED WITH A REPRESENTATIVE CROSS-SECTION OF THE POPULATION IN SOUTH AFRICA. (NOTE - I WILL SPELL THIS OUT.) I LISTENED ATTENTIVELY TO WHAT WAS SAID.

TO DR. CONNIE MULDER, SOUTH AFRICA'S INFORMATION MINISTER, THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA "IS A MICROCOSM OF THE WORLD'S ETHNIC AND POLITICAL AND COMPLEXITIES". THE SOUTH AFRICAN FORMULA FOR PREVENTING ETHNIC FRICTION AND CLASHES, DR. MULDER EXPLAINS TO US, IS CREATION OF "A BLOCK OF POLITICALLY INDEPENDENT STATES, ECONOMICALLY INTERDEPENDENT". SO-CALLED "SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT" IS THE TECHNIQUE THE NATIONALIST GOVERNMENT HAS DEVELOPED FOR THIS PURPOSE. THIS MEANS MOVING MASSES OF PEOPLE, BOTH BLACK AND WHITE BUT PRIMARILY BLACK, FROM THE PLACES THEY NOW INHABIT TO NEW LOCATIONS, IN SUCH A WAY AS TO CREATE "HOMELANDS" OR "BANTUSTANS" POPULATED SOLELY BY BLACKS, WITH SUCH HOMELAND DESIGNATED FOR A PARTICULAR RACE OR "TRIBE" TO USE THE TERM ONE ENCOUNTERS IN SOUTH AFRICA. THESE AREAS ARE TO BE BROUGHT TO INDEPENDENCE IN DUE COURSE, WITH ONE SUCH "HOMELAND", THE TRANSKEI, IN FACT SCHEDULED TO BECOME AT LEAST NOMINALLY INDEPENDENT SOMETIME NEXT YEAR.

I HAVE SAID I LISTENED ATTENTIVELY. I MUST TELL YOU ALSO THAT I DID NOT HESITATE TO INFORM MY GRACIOUS HOSTS OF MY PERSONAL VIEWS OF WHAT I WAS HEARING. "SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT" IS INSEPARABLE FROM "APARTHEID" OR SEPARATION BASED ON RACE. THIS SEPARATION IS INSTITUTIONALIZED THROUGHOUT THE STRUCTURE OF SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIETY. IT MEANS VOTING AND PROPERTY RIGHTS FOR BLACKS IN THEIR HOMELANDS--13 PERCENT OF THE TOTAL AREA OF SOUTH AFRICA--BUT VIRTUALLY NO RIGHTS IN WHAT SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT AUTHORITIES EUPHEMISTICALLY CALL "WHITE UNCLASSIFIED

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SOUTH AFRICA". MY HOSTS ADMITTED TO INSTITUTIONALIZED DISCRIMINATION BUT MAINTAINED THAT IT WAS BASED, NOT ON DIFFERENCES IN SKIN COLOR, BUT RATHER ON DIFFERENCES IN TRADITIONS AND SOCIAL VALUES. AT ANY RATE, THEY ARGUE, THIS SEPARATION IS NECESSARY TO PRESERVE HARMONY AND STABILITY IN A SOCIETY WHERE THESE CONDITIONS ARE BELIEVED TO BE ESSENTIAL FOR THE CONTINUING ECONOMIC GROWTH THAT IS BRINGING INCREASING PROSPERITY TO THE BLACK MAJORITY POPULATION AS WELL AS TO WHITES.

NOTE BY OC/T: NOTE PARA BEGINNING "TO DR. CONNIE MULDER," APPEARS TO HAVE FAULT LINE TWO. OMISSION OR UNNEEDED "AND". NOT SERVICED

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UNCLAS SECTION 2 OF 2 LOURENCO MARQUES 1044

FOR MULCAHY FROM EASUM

ECONOMIC ARGUMENTS ASIDE, AND WITHOUT COMMENT ON THE VALIDITY OF THE DISTINCTION--IF THERE IS ONE IN SOUTH AFRICA TODAY--BETWEEN DISCRIMINATION BASED ON COLOR AND DISCRIMINATION BASED ON SOCIAL VALUES, THE U.S. VIEWS AS TOTALLY ABHORRENT THIS SYSTEM OF ENFORCED DIVISION OF PEOPLES. THIS IS A SYSTEM APPLIED AND MAINTAINED BY AN UNPARALLELED SET OF REPRESSIVE LAWS, REGULATIONS AND RULES THAT IMPOSE A SEPARATE AND GROSSLY UNEQUAL STATUS FOR THE MORE THAN 16 MILLION HUMAN BEINGS THAT THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT CLASSIFIES AS NON-WHITE. WE ARE RELIABLY INFORMED THAT ONE OUT OF EVERY FOUR ADULT BLACK AFRICANS IS ARRESTED EACH YEAR FOR INFRINGEMENTS OF LAWS APPLICABLE ONLY TO BLACK. FURTHERMORE, WE SUGGEST THAT THE LAWS THAT RESTRICT THE FREEDOM AND MOVEMENT OF NON-WHITES AND REGULATE AND CONTROL THEIR DAILY ACTIVITIES, ALSO SERIOUSLY CIRCUMSCRIBE THE LIVES OF SOUTH AFRICA'S 3.5 MILLION WHITES. ALL ARE CAUGHT IN A WEB OF FEAR AND DISTRUST. (NOTE - I WILL EXPAND HERE, CITING PAST LAWS, INFLUX CONTROL, JOB RESERVATION, GROUP AREAS ACT, ETC.)

WE HAVE NEVER SOUGHT TO PRESCRIBE ANY PARTICULAR FORM OF REMEDY FOR THE RACIAL ILLS OF SOUTH AFRICA. WE INSIST, HOWEVER, THAT ANY RELATIONSHIP AMONG PEOPLE THAT IS NOT BASED ON A SUBSTANTIAL DEGREE OF MUTUAL CONSENT IS UNSOUND AND DESTINED TO FAILURE.

SOUTH AFRICA'S RACIAL POLICIES CONTINUE TO INHIBIT OUR OFFICIAL RELATIONSHIPS WITH THAT GOVERNMENT. AS A RESULT, WE

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MAINTAIN AN EMBARGO ON THE SALE OR SHIPMENT OF ARMS OR
MILITARY EQUIPMENT OF ANY SORT TO SOUTH AFRICA. THIS IS DONE
DESPITE CONTRARY MILITARY SUPPLY POLICIES OF CERTAIN OTHER
GOVERNMENTS AND CONTINUING PRESSURE FOR RESUMPTION OF US
SALES. THE US GOVERNMENT SELDOM RECEIVES CREDIT FROM ITS
CRITICS, BOTH FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC, FOR TURNING DOWN SALES
THAT WOULD RUN INTO HUNDREDS OF MILLIONS OF DOLLARS AND
CONTRIBUTE SUBSTANTIALLY TO EASING OUR BALANCE OF PAYMENTS
PROBLEM. WE CONTINUE TO MAINTAIN THE BAN INSTITUTED EIGHT
YEARS AGO ON U.S. NAVAL VISITS TO SOUTH AFRICA. EVEN IF
THE PROBLEM OF EXPOSING U.S. PERSONNEL TO DISCRIMINATORY
TREATMENT IN SOUTH AFRICAN PORTS COULD BE RESOLVED, SUCH
VISITS WOULD PRESENT OTHER SERIOUS PROBLEMS. AMONG SUCH
PROBLEMS WOULD BE THE REACTION OF OTHER AFRICAN NATIONS
AT WHOSE PORTS OUR NAVY CALLS. WE HAVE NO PRESENT INTENTION
TO EMBARK ON ANY KIND OF MILITARY OR NAVAL COLLABORATION
WITH SOUTH AFRICA. UNQUOTE
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